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ABRAHAM AND THE NATIONS IN THE BOOK OF *JUBILEES*

Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten

1. THE NATIONS IN THE BOOK OF *JUBILEES*

The theme of the nations in relation to Israel touches the very heart of the book of *Jubilees* because the nations play a very important role in the book, although a negative one. In many places the author refers to the nations, and in most cases he creates a dichotomy between the nations and the nation par excellence (Israel). The author is erecting sharp boundaries between Israel and other people, between insiders and outsiders. Israel is summoned to separate from the nations. The people of Israel should stay far away from them, and from their customs and their practices.

The theme of the status of the nations for Israel is not only an important issue for the book of *Jubilees*, but also for the whole spectrum of Jewish movements in the Second Temple period. In his source-book *Judaism and the Gentiles* (2007), Donaldson points to the fact that questions with regard to the religious status of non-Jewish people were inevitable for Jews in the Graeco-Roman world, due to both intrinsic and extrinsic circumstances.¹ Jews could not tell their own self-defining story without pointing in one way or another to other nations. Despite the differences in interpretation, one can say that in the biblical story the cosmic and the universal are interwoven with the national and particular. There is the one universal God, who had created the whole world and who had continued to exercise power over the created order and all the nations within it. On the other hand, this God had chosen Israel *from out of all nations* of the world to be a special people. God's will had been revealed uniquely in Israel's Scriptures; despite the fact that God had created the whole cosmos, he was nevertheless uniquely present in the temple of

¹ T.L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco, Tex., 2007).

Jerusalem. Despite temporal misfortunes, Israel would be vindicated in the end and exalted to a position of pre-eminence *over all other nations*.

The question of the extent to which Jews could adopt Gentile ways or accommodate their life to the wider non-Jewish world was a very important and defining issue (see the Maccabean revolt and the wars against Rome), but the ways in which the Gentiles could participate in the Jewish way of life, on the other hand, were probably of less interest to the Jewish people.

In his work, Donaldson collected many early Jewish texts in which this second element (participation of non-Jews in Jewish life) plays an important part, and he managed to give a classification of four Jewish patterns of universalism up until the 2nd century CE: sympathizers; converts; ethical monotheists; and participants in the eschatological redemption.

It comes as no surprise that the book of *Jubilees* plays no role in this universalistic spectrum. Not a single page is devoted to this book in Donaldson's collection because *Jubilees* opts for a sharp exclusion of other nations. There are other early Jewish works that establish the culpability of the Gentiles (and therefore a justification of divine punishment of the nations, as for example in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the *Testament of Moses*), but the book of *Jubilees* occupies by far the most extreme position on the negative side of the spectrum. For the author of this work, the only way to please God is to abide by the Torah, the ancestral laws, in its totality. Because, according to *Jubilees*, the Torah demands that a man be circumcised by the eighth day, Gentiles are excluded right from the beginning. The author does not explain the reason for this exclusion, it is just axiomatic.

Anybody who reads the book of *Jubilees* discovers right from the beginning that the theme of the nations is not restricted to Abraham. It plays a role everywhere. However, most texts that speak about the erection of the boundaries between Israel and its environment can be found in the so-called farewell speeches, thus in material that is *added* to the rewriting of Genesis 1—Exodus 19, just before the patriarchs die. It concerns the testaments of Noah, of Abraham, of Rebekah, and of Isaac. In these speeches, it is the sons of the patriarch who are addressed, and in this respect it is Jacob in particular who plays an important role.² Further, the separation from the nations also plays an important role

² On *Jub.* 22, see J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "Abraham's Death in the Book of *Jubilees*," in *Rewritten Biblical Figures* (ed. E. Koskeniemi and P. Lindqvist; Studies in Rewritten Bible 3; Winona Lake, In., 2010), 57–84.

in the addition to the creation story (in relation to the inauguration of the sabbath),³ and in *Jubilees* 30, which deals with intermarriage. And, of course, the separation plays a part in the covenant relationship between God and Israel: there is one eternal covenant with a growing set of stipulations, from Noah to Abraham and Israel, and this means exclusion from the nations.⁴

2. THE REWRITING OF GEN 12:1–3 IN *JUB.* 12:22B–24

The fact that Israel is summoned to separate from the nations, and that the people of Israel should stay far away from their customs and their practices (cf. *Jub.* 22:16), is apparently no reason to omit the expression “All the peoples of the earth will be blessed in you” (Gen 12:3; *Jub.* 12:23). This is all the more striking because the blessing of the nations (Gen 12:3) plays hardly any role in early Jewish Abraham traditions.⁵

I shall focus here on the rewriting of the passage of Gen 12:1–3 in *Jub.* 12:22b–24, which is part of the stories about Abraham’s youth.⁶ *Jubilees* 11:14–12:31 deals with the first stages in Abraham’s life, from his birth until his departure from Haran. Abraham at an early age renounces the services of the many gods and their idols, and he testifies to his belief in the one true God.⁷ The fight against idolatry is related to the fight against demons, and both are related in the broader context of *Jubilees*.

³ See J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden 2000), 47–66; idem, “La filiación en el libro de los *Jubileos*,” in *Filiación: Cultura Pagana, Religión de Israel, Orígenes del Cristianismo III* (ed. J.J. Ayan Calvo; P. Navascués Benlloch, and M. Aroztegui Esnaola; Madrid, 2010; in press).

⁴ See, e.g., E. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung: Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. Vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXIII, 162; Frankfurt a/M. 1982); C. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford 2002). For the separation of Israel and the nations in *Jub.* 15, see, e.g., M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden 2007), 229–245; J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “The Book of Jubilees as Paratextual Literature,” in *Palimpsests: An International Symposium on Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature*, Vienna, February 25–27, 2007 (ed. A. Lange and R. Pillinger; Leiden, 2010; in press).

⁵ See for this observation the contribution by Mladen Popović to this volume.

⁶ I will consistently use “Abraham,” except for direct quotations from the biblical text.

⁷ See, e.g., G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Abraham the Convert: A Jewish Tradition and Its Use by the Apostle Paul,” in *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (ed. M.A. Stone and T.A. Bergren; Harrisburg, PA, 1998), 151–175 (esp. 156).

The rewriting of Gen 12:1–3 in the book of *Jubilees* is strongly integrated in a description of the events that took place around Abraham's prayer (12:16–27): Abraham observes the stars (12:16–18); Abraham's prayer (12:19–22a); God's answer (12:22b–24); and Abraham learns Hebrew (12:25–27). The third pericope in which God answers Abraham's prayer can be considered a rewriting of Gen 12:1–3, the call to go to Canaan. All the other passages can be considered as an addition with regard to the biblical text of Genesis. I will now put both texts (Gen 12:1–3; *Jub.* 12:22b–24) side by side.⁸

Genesis 12:1–3

- 1a And [] the Lord said to Abram:
- 1b “Go from your land and your family and your father's house to the land that I will show you.
- 2a I will *make* of you a great [] people.
- 2b I will bless you,
- 2c and make your name great,
- 2d You will become a blessing [].
- 3a I will bless those who bless you,
- 3b and *him* who curses you I will curse;
- 3c and all the *families* of the land will be blessed in you.” []

Jubilees 12:22b–24

- 22b And BEHOLD, THE WORD OF the Lord was sent to him through my hand, saying:
- c “Now you, come from your land, from your family, and your father's house to the land that I will show you.
- d I will *establish* you into a large AND POPULOUS people.
- 23a I will bless you,
- b and make your name great.
- c You will become blessed IN THE LAND.
- d All the *peoples* of the land will be blessed in you.
- e Those who bless you I will bless,
- f and *those* who curse you I will curse. []
- 24a I WILL BECOME GOD FOR YOU, YOUR SON, YOUR GRANDSON, AND ALL YOUR SEED.
- b DO NOT BE AFRAID.
- c FROM NOW UNTIL ALL THE GENERATIONS OF THE LAND I AM YOUR GOD.”

⁸ All translations of *Jubilees* are based on J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, II* (CSCO 511; Scriptores Aethiopici 88; Leuven 1989), and all translations of the biblical text on the Revised Standard Version. However, I have felt free to deviate from these translations in order to do justice to the repetition of words. In the synoptic overview, I have tried to present a classification of the similarities and dissimilarities between Genesis and *Jubilees*. I have used small caps to highlight those elements of Genesis which do not occur in *Jubilees*, and vice versa, i.e., the omissions and additions. I have used “normal

Jubilees 12:22b–24 shows a poetical structure. This is reflected in the balance between the two subsequent lines (12:22c and 12:22d; 12:23a and 12:23b; 12:23c and 12:23d; 12:23e and 12:23f; 12:24a and 12:24c). One line is not balanced, namely 12:24b (“do not be afraid”). With regard to the text of Gen 12:1–3, *Jub.* 12:22b–24 shows additions (12:22d; 12:23c; 12:24), variations (12:22b, 22d) and rearrangement (12:23d).

Jub. 12:22b can be considered as a variation of Gen 12:1. In fact, it also has some additions: “and behold”; “the word of”; and “saying,” in addition to the variation “was sent through my hand,” instead of “said,” and “to him,” instead of “to Abram.” This rewriting results in an avoidance of a direct contact between God and Abraham. It is the angel who mediates between them. This mediation also occurs in the addition 12:25–26. In *Jub.* 13:3 (cf. Gen 12:7), just after Abraham enters the land of Canaan, the Lord here speaks directly to Abraham without the intermediary of an angel. From then onwards God addresses Abraham directly.

Jub. 12:22d uses the word “to put; to establish” (*rassaya*), where Gen 12:2a has “to make” (עשה; LXX: ποιέω). The same word is used in Abraham’s prayer (12:20c). Possibly, the use of *rassaya* has been influenced by the blessing in Gen 13:16 (“I will establish [שום] your descendants like the dust of the earth”) for which *Jub.* 13:20b reads: “I will establish [*rassaya*] your descendants like the sands of the sea”.⁹ Also, the addition “and populous” in *Jub.* 12:22d is possibly influenced by a parallel passage. I refer to Gen 18:18 (לגוי גדול ועצום: “a great and populous people”). Also, one textual witness to the Septuagint Gen 12:2a (d 458) adds “and populous” (και πολυ).¹⁰

Jub. 12:23c shows a combination of variation (“blessed” instead of “a blessing”) and addition (“in the land”). This transformation stresses the fact that Abraham is the one who is blessed. It does not focus on his role as a blessing *for others*, as can be argued from Gen 12:2d.¹¹ Moreover,

script” for the corresponding elements between both texts, i.e., the verbatim quotations of one or more words from the source text in *Jubilees*, besides additions or omissions. Sometimes there is a rearrangement of words and sentences. I have underlined those elements.

⁹ See also Gen 21:18 (“I will make him [אשימו] a great nation”, where *Jub.* 17:7 reads: “I will make him [*rassaya*] into a great nation”). Compare Gen 46:3 (“for I will there make of you [רמישא] a great nation,” where *Jub.* 44:5 reads: “I will make [*sar’a*] you into a great nation there”), but the difference between the Ethiopic verbs *rassaya* and *sar’a* seems to be very small. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 289.

¹⁰ Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 73.

¹¹ R.W.L. Moberly, *The Bible, Theology, and Faith: A Study of Abraham and Jesus* (Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine 5; Cambridge 2000), 124, and K.N. Grüneberg,

Jubilees adds that Abraham is blessed *wəsta mǝdr*, which I have translated here and in 12:23d with “in the land.”¹² This is in conformity with the translation of *mǝdr* in 12:22c. Moreover, both in Genesis and in *Jubilees* the blessing of Abraham is related to his entrance into the land, whereas the promise of an abundance of offspring is combined with the promise of the land.¹³

The rearrangement of Gen 12:3c in *Jub.* 12:23d is possibly due to a specific view of the poetic structure of the passage. In Gen 12:1–3 one can point to a balance between 12:1b and 12:2a; 12:2b and 12:2c; 12:3a and 12:3c. In this structure neither Gen 12:2d nor 12:3c is balanced by any adjacent line. By putting Gen 12:3c after Gen 12:2d (in *Jub.* 12:23cd) and, moreover, by adding the words “in the land” to Gen 12:2d, *Jubilees* strengthens the balance between these lines (Gen 12:2d, 3c). The use of “peoples” (*ʾaḥzāb*) instead of “families” (*משפחה*; Eth. *ʾazmād*) is possibly influenced by the use of “peoples” in comparable contexts: Gen 18:18 (“and all the *peoples* of the land will be blessed in him”), and Gen 22:18 (cf. Gen 26:4) (“and in your seed will all the *peoples* of the land bless themselves”). Note, however, that Gen 28:14 uses the word “families” (“and in you and your seed will all the *families* of the land be blessed”).

The reading in *Jub.* 12:23f (“those who curse you”; plural) instead of the Masoretic Text of Gen 12:3b (“him who curses you”; singular) reflects the plural reading that is also found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, and the Peshitta. It is not necessary, therefore, to consider this as a variation.

Abraham, Blessing and the Nations: A Philological and Exegetical Study of Genesis 12:3 in Its Narrative Context (BZAW 332; Berlin 2003), have argued that Gen 12:2d does not make Abraham a source of blessing to others, but rather promises that he will be signally blessed in such a way that others will notice.

¹² So also O.S. Wintermute, “*Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction*,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, II* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; London 1985), 81. However, in *Jub.* 12:23d he translates this by “of the earth.” R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis. Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text* (London 1902), 95, and VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 73, translate *mǝdr* in both cases by “the earth.” K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSRZ 2.3; Gütersloh 1981), 395, reads “auf der Erde.”

¹³ Israel has the status of God's people from the creation onwards. Israel is separated from the other peoples and lives in a sacred space. For the centrality of the land in the book of *Jubilees*, see J.M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 91; Leiden 2005), 161–209. Scott stresses that the holy land of Israel with its central sanctuary is the focal point of the concept that the goal of history is the realignment of sacred space with sacred time so that everything will become “on earth as in heaven.”

Finally, the most striking element in the rewriting is the addition of *Jub.* 12:24. In Gen 12:1–3 there are no clues that could explain this addition. One could, of course, think of a possible influence from comparable passages, especially from the introduction to the conclusion of the covenant in Genesis 17 (Gen 17:1–8). Apart from the promise of the land and of numerous offspring, the conclusion of the covenant includes a promise that God makes to Abraham and his descendants (Gen 17:7–8: “And I will establish my covenant between me and you, and your descendants after you throughout their generations, for an everlasting covenant, *to be God to you and to your seed after you*. And I will give to you, and to your descendants after you, the land of your sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession, *and I will be their God*”).¹⁴ Although I would not exclude the possibility that 12:24 alludes to the covenant of Genesis 17, God’s answer in 12:24 is a confirmation of Abraham’s supplication in the first place and reflects the multiple invocation of “My God, my God, God most high. You alone are my God” (12:19cd).

3. THE LITERARY CONTEXT OF *JUB.* 12:22B–24

The passage that rewrites Gen 12:1–3 is well integrated in its literary context (*Jub.* 12:16–27), i.e., there is coherence in this passage as a whole. In the first place, it is located in Haran. In the second place, one can point to a unity of time to a great extent. The events take place when Abraham was seventy-five years of age (cf. 12:16: “In the sixth week, during its fifth year,” which is AM 1951. The destruction of the house of idols in the preceding passage took place in the sixtieth year of Abraham’s life (12:12), after which it is mentioned that they stayed for fourteen years in Haran (12:15). In the following passage his departure is dated two years after the prayer (cf. 12:28: “In the seventh year of the sixth week”). The aspect of time is specified in that the observation of the stars and the prayer took place during the night (cf. 12:16a, 19a) and the studying of the books during a period of six months (cf. 12:27f). Moreover, both in the beginning and at the end the text refers to climatological circumstances, namely the rain (cf. 12:16a, 18, 27). In the third place, one can point to the use of people. Both in the preceding (12:12–15) and in the following passage (12:28–13:6) several members of Abraham’s family are

¹⁴ The rewriting of Gen 17:7–18 in *Jub.* 15:9–10 is very literal.

mentioned,¹⁵ whereas in 12:16–27 it is mainly Abraham who is the person acting. One sees him watching the stars all alone (12:16–18), after which he addresses God in prayer (12:19–22a). God answers Abraham's prayer through an angel (12:22–24, 25–26). Finally, it is Abraham who copies and studies the Hebrew books (12:27).¹⁶

God's answer (12:22b–24) is particularly interrelated with Abraham's prayer (12:19–22a). Abraham's questioning of whether he has to return to Ur of the Chaldeans (12:21bc: "Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans who are seeking me to return to them? Or am I to sit here in this place?") not only refers back to the burning down of the house of idols (12:12–14), but also prepares for God's call to leave his land and his father's house in order to go to the land that he will show him (12:22c). The supplication in 12:20c ("Do establish me and my seed until eternity") is reflected in the promise that God will bless Abraham in this land and establish him as progenitor of a large and populous people (12:22d–23). The multiple invocation of "My God, my God, God most high. You alone are my God" (12:19cd) is reflected in God's answer "I will become God for you" (12:24a). The supplication to save him from the hand of the evil spirits (12:20ab: "Save me from the hand of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of the people's heart. May they not lead me astray from following you, my God") is not answered explicitly. However, the call to leave his father's house to go to the land that God will show him (12:22c) can be understood as a liberation from the power of the evil spirits. In the new land Abraham will prosper and be blessed. He need not be afraid. Several elements in the prayer and its answer are put chiastically in the text, as is shown in the following table:

- | | |
|----|---|
| A | You alone are my God (12:19d) |
| B | Establish me and my seed (12:20c) |
| C | Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans or sit in this place
(12:21bc) |
| C' | Come from your country (12:22c) |
| B' | I will establish you into a large and populous people
(12:22d–23) |
| A' | I will become God for you (12:24a, c) |

¹⁵ In 12:12–15: "Haran" (14a); "his father Terah" (14d); "Terah" (15a); "he and his sons" (15a); "his father" (15d). In 12:28–13:7: "his father" (12:28a); "his father Terah" (12:29a); "Lot the son of your brother Haran" (12:30d; 13:1b); "your brother Nahor" (12:31a); "his wife Sarai" (13:1b).

¹⁶ In addition, one can point to the repetitions of some words that occur in more than one passage: "night" (12:16a, 19a); "to sit" (12:16a, 16b, 21c); "(all / everything in his)

4. IDOLATRY AND EVIL SPIRITS

The polemic against foreign gods is deeply rooted in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁷ One can point to Deuteronomy, but also to the prophetic literature, such as Second Isaiah and Jeremiah. The renouncing of idolatry is thus not an invention of *Jubilees*. What is striking, however, is the fact that *Jubilees* connects these anti-idol polemics with Abraham. This characteristic seems to be a traditional one.¹⁸ In any case, one can see that Josh 24:2–3 refers to the idolatry of the fathers on the other side of the river (“Your fathers lived of old beyond the Euphrates, Terah, the father of Abraham and of Nahor; and they served other gods. Then I took your father Abraham from beyond the River and led him through all the land of Canaan, and made his offspring many”; cf. also Josh 24:14, 15). Differing from Genesis, here Ur of the Chaldeans is the point of departure for Abraham’s journey to Canaan. Moreover, the departure from Ur is on God’s initiative and not on Terah’s. It is not completely clear whether it is meant in Josh 24:2–3 that Abraham also served other gods, or only that Terah and Nahor did (“they served other gods”). *Jubilees* does not follow the tradition of Joshua that on God’s initiative Abraham departed from Ur without his family. It follows the text of Genesis instead. *Jubilees* does follow Joshua in the connection that is made between Abraham and the renouncement of idolatry, however. Also, Jdt 5:6–9 speaks about Abraham’s early life and connects Abraham with the anti-idol polemic.¹⁹ Comparable to *Jubilees*, the departure from Ur is related to the renouncing of the foreign gods (“they would not follow the gods of their fathers”). They left the way of their parents and “worshiped the God of heaven, a god whom they had come to know” (cf. Jdt 6:8). Because of this, they were driven out of Ur. This tradition concerning Abraham’s transition from idolatry to monotheism is quite similar to that of *Jubilees*. Even though *Jubilees* does not say that the family is expelled from Ur, there are some traces of the tensions between Abraham’s family and the Chaldeans

hand” (12:17c, 18e, 19f; cf. 12:20a, 21d, 22b); “to seek” (12:17d, 21b); “seed” (12:20c, 24a); “to establish” (12:20c, 22d); and “heart” (12:17a, 20a, 21e).

¹⁷ See, e.g., *ABD*, 3.376–381.

¹⁸ Apart from his early years, one can point to Abraham’s testamentary speeches (20:7–9; 21:3–5, 21–23; 22:16–22).

¹⁹ A. Roitman, “The Traditions about Abraham’s Early Life in the Book of Judith (5:6–9),” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Satran, and R.A. Clements; JSJSup 89; Leiden 2004), 73–87.

(12:6–8, 21). Also the fact that the departure from Ur is put immediately after the fire in the house of idols points in the direction of a flight.²⁰

There is a strong connection between Abraham's prayer (*Jub.* 12:16–27) and the other prayers in the book of *Jubilees* (1:19–21; 10:1–14; 19:26–29) both in structure and in content. The prayers are caused by the threat of evil spirits. In God's answer to the supplication in Abraham's prayer to save him from the evil spirits, several means are put into play, such as dictating from the heavenly tablets, binding ninety percent of the evil spirits, teaching about medicines, copying and studying books, and making a promise to live in the land. In the Bible there is no demonology. In Genesis one finds nothing about demons. Within *Jubilees*, however, demons occur in several places, especially in relation to the spread of mankind on the earth after the flood. They belong to the time of Noah and early Abraham, although they continue to operate in later times. Apart from the term "demon" (1:11c; 7:27; 10:1, 2; 22:17) "(evil) spirit" is also used (10:3, 5, 8, 11, 13; 11:4, 5; 12:20; 15:31, 32; 19:28). The demons are charged with causing bloodshed and with inciting people to kill each other. In this respect, *Jubilees* seems to be influenced by other sources. The teaching about the demons seems to be part of the wider influence of material originating from the Enochic traditions.²¹ One can point to the influence of *1 Enoch* (*Book of Watchers*). *Jubilees* shares the fundamental pattern of the *Book of Watchers* in which the angels descended from heaven, married women and sinned with them. Their children were the giants. In *1 Enoch* 15:8–16:1 it is described how the evil spirits came out of

²⁰ For a development of this tradition, most of it from somewhat later sources: Pseudo-Eupolemus (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.17.2–9; 9.18.2); *Orphica* (25–31; long recension); Philo, (*De Abrahamo*, 68–88; *De migratione Abrahami*, 176 ff.; *De somniis*, 1.44 ff. etc.); Flavius Josephus, *Ant.* 1.7.1–2; Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 6–7; *Apoc. Ab.* 1–8; Acts 7:2–4; *Targum Neofiti* 1 and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (*passim*). Cf. Roitman, "Traditions," 74; Nickelsburg "Abraham the Convert," 159–171; Kugel, *Bible*, 133–148.

²¹ For the influence of Enochic traditions in the book of *Jubilees*, see especially J.C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in *Jubilees* and Other Second-Century Sources," *SBLSP* 1 (1978), 229–251 (reprinted in idem, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* [JSJSup 62; Leiden 2000], 305–331). This work influenced his *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, 1984), 179–188, and formed the basis of a chapter in *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia, South Carolina 1995), 110–121. See also some of his predecessors: Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, xlv, 36–39, 43–44; P. Grelot, "La légende d'Enoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 46 (1958) 5–26; 181–210; J.T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford 1976). VanderKam is followed by, e.g., G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis 2001), 71–76.

the carcasses of the giants and how they were threatening humanity: they are violent, cause desolation, attack and wrestle and hurl upon the earth.²² *Jubilees* seems not to be completely consistent here in that the demons are mentioned as the emanations from the angels themselves (10:5: “your watchers, the fathers of these spirits”), whereas it also understands the giants as the sons of the watchers (5:1, 6–10).²³ Moreover, it shows some deviations from its source text; for example, the demons are put under the authority of Mastema (10:8; 11:5; 19:28; 49:2; cf. 11:11; 17:16; 18:9, 12; 48:2, 3–4, 9, 12–18). This leader of the demons is probably not a demon himself but a sort of evil angel. He is, however, not one of the watchers, because they are tied up in the depths of the earth until the great day of judgment (5:6–11). The demons do everything Mastema tells them, so that he is able to exercise the authority of his will among mankind to punish them for their evil (cf. 10:8).

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The book of *Jubilees* occupies the most extreme position on the negative side of the universalistic spectrum of early Jewish texts. The book opts for a sharp exclusion of other nations. In *Jubilees*, idolatry, spirits and impurity are associated with the other nations, and Israel has to keep far away from them. Also, Abraham is connected with these anti-idol polemics. The analysis of the rewriting of Gen 12:1–3 revealed that Abraham’s moving from his homeland and his father’s house is in fact his departure from the impure world of idolatry.

Apparently, the author of *Jubilees* sees no contradiction between his particularistic theology, his abhorrence of other people, and his borrowing of the universalistic expression from the book of Genesis to bless these nations. Also, at other places where the blessing of the nations occurs, *Jubilees* takes it over literally. With regard to Abraham’s seed, *Jub.* 18:16ab takes Gen 22:18 up literally. *Jubilees* adds to the text of Genesis “I have made known to everyone that you are faithful to me in everything that I have told you” (*Jub.* 18:16cd). With regard to Isaac, *Jub.* 24:11 takes

²² J.C. VanderKam, “The Demons in the Book of *Jubilees*,” in *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment*, (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K.F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen 2003), 339–364 (esp. 348–350); Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch*, 267–275.

²³ *Jubilees* possibly preserves several older traditions about the watchers. Cf. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 109–118.

up the blessing of Gen 26:4, and with regard to Jacob *Jub.* 27:23 takes up the blessing of Gen 28:14. See also Abraham's farewell speech to Ishmael and his twelve children, Isaac and his two children, and the six children of Keturah: "You will become a blessing on the earth, and all the nations of the earth will be delighted with you" (*Jub.* 20:10).

It is important to note, however, that these expressions to bless the nations are adopted in *Jubilees* more or less literally. Moreover, there are no additions in the book with regard to Genesis that run counter to the particularistic view. That means that the universalistic strains in the book are mainly derived from Genesis and completely subordinated to its particularistic emphasis on Israel.

Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites

Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives
on Kinship with Abraham

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